













# Runners and riders

By Roger Longrigg

WRAY VAMPIRE:  
The Turf  
288pp. Allen Lane. £8.50.

The British turf has a number of distinct ancestors from which it descends in a direct if often invisible line. These include: royal and noble matches in the parlours of palaces; rural matches, between neighbouring squires and farmers, on patches of common; hunting matches and wild goose chase; fairs, both rural and urban, in which races were at once a merry spectacle and an aid to horse dealing; and, most important, sports put on by municipal corporations, on their own land, with the object of bringing money to the town's innkeepers and tradesmen. Very gradually these strands came together. During the process, certain improvements anticipated modernity were here and there introduced, many astonishingly early; some were suggested by common sense, safety, convenience, such as roping off the finishing straight; some by the needs of betting, such as fixed weights and strict local rules.

The two most important changes happened, respectively, between about 1660 and 1730, and between 1750 and 1800. The first was the invention of the English thoroughbred, the ingredients of which were all assembled by 1730; it continued to change (to grow taller and run faster) rapidly until about 1770, then much more slowly. The second great change was the formation of a central authority and the forging of its necessary machinery of record and communication. Other eighteenth-century changes of lasting importance were the gradual replacement of matches (two horses) by sweepstakes (several), the running of more and shorter races, the racing of four, three, and two-year-old horses, the invention

of weight-for-age and handicap races. Why were these changes made? Because, Wray Vampire suggests in this "Social and Economic History of Horse Racing", huge and half-seen economic forces were at work. Britain had undergone an agricultural revolution, he says, "in the process of which economic behaviour had increasingly become conditioned by the profit motive." It would have amazed Daniel Defoe in 1725, Arthur Young in 1765, to hear that the economic behaviour of landowners was conditioned by any motive other than profit; it would have amazed Gervase Markham in 1620 to hear that a racehorse-owner had any motive other than to make as certain as possible of winning as large a wager as possible.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century a new phenomenon appeared, also of lasting importance: the blacking or bookmaker. Within a generation the effect was overwhelming and catastrophic. It would be absurd to say that all nineteenth-century bookies were sinners, or to deny that eighteenth-century grandees went to great lengths to cheat each other; but it is demonstrably true that the two some growth of racing fraud is largely traceable to quite a small number of professional layers of odds, and to their creatures among trainers, jockeys, stable-lads and a few racing officials. The most important thing by far that happened on the nineteenth-century British turf was the cleaning up of this criminal mass by the Jockey Club. Certainly not all the mess was made by the bookies: they cannot be blamed for Running Rein's Derby, the folly of Francis Villiers, the greed of Sir George Chetwynd; they were and are, and should be blamed for nearly everything against which Lord George Bentinck, Admiral Rous, Lord Durham, Sir John

Astley and their like-minded friends campaigned. This is where, I think, Mr Vampire's approach puts him most gravely wrong. For example, he correctly records that the Jockey Club contrived to restrict the Ascot Gold Cup to horses owned by a limited number of undoubted gentlemen, with the object of excluding John Gully. What rankled was that this ex-butcher boy, the son of a publican, had become a successful racehorse owner. The prize ring and the betting ring could accommodate both high and low-born, but the winners enclosure at Ascot was not so welcoming; there, the owners, as well as their horses, had to be thoroughbred.

Has Mr Vampire never heard of Richard Tattersall, yeoman farmer's son, owner of Highflyer, who had the Prince of Wales to stay for the races? Of Dennis O'Kelly, once the front legs of a sedan chair, owner of Eclipse, who ran his horses in the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Plate at Ascot? Does he not realise that Gully was, at the relevant time, the most notorious shark on the English turf, confederate of Crookford, Ridsdale, and the dreadful Day family?

Mr Vampire has a picture of the Jockey Club obliged to reform racing, against its own lethargic or reactionary inclinations; by the result of the growing economic importance of train-borne proletarians arriving at racecourses, with disposable money to lose and leisure to lose it in. This seems a classic example of history rewritten by present trampling into a reform lobby by armies of outraged working men. He conducted a personal campaign because he loved racing and was outraged by fraud and sloppiness. Nothing could have influenced him



Max Schmeling, professional boxer, painted by George Grosz, himself a serious amateur. When racing and cycling were the sports which had most influence on French artists, in Berlin, where sportsmen immensely popular, boxing took the place of racing. This picture reproduced from the German magazine Die Kunst, which was devoted to sports and modern art, was commissioned in 1926 by Alfred Frechthem, a gallery owner and boxing patron, who aimed to change the brutal image of the sportsman, emphasizing instead elegant and physically demanding aspects. There were two big exhibitions in Berlin on the theme of Sport and Art at this time, reflecting the trend towards the Nazis' idealization of the body.

less than the views of an artisan betting in sixpences.

Thinking as he does, it is no surprise that Mr Vampire the most important moment of all was the invention, at Sandown in 1875, of the enclosed park course chess, and prizes. Well, it was a good idea, and revolutionized for a time the finances of individual racecourses. But Mr Vampire's attempts to find intimate links between this event and the transformation of status and rewards of jockeys and trainers are ingenious rather than convincing. The over-rated Sandown, even the biggest "added money" prizes were still dwarfed by the scale of betting.

Mr Vampire has done most interesting research in new or little-known places, such as the uncatalogued Bowes MS at Durham and the private manuscript records of

certain racecourses. But he has not looked at *The Sporting Magazine*, or *The New Sporting Magazine*, *Bell's Life* or *The Morning Times*. Talking of opposites, close, as anybody might be, to those of R. S. Surtees, which is extraordinary. His quotes with credulous respect the hysterical apologies of William Dyer, not read John Lawrence, or C. W. Prior, or Sir Charles Leicester. He believes Charles Greville to be epoch-making history, and misnames the book that is new, and much more interesting, and much of what is newest is the most interesting. When he comes to write his planned social and economic analysis of sport in nineteenth-century Britain (to which I look forward), I hope he will read more widely and more critically, and rely less on secondary sources.

# The tear-drop express

By Reyner Banham

DONALD J. BUSH:  
*The Streamlined Decade*  
240pp. New York: Braziller. \$15.

America has never forgiven Ford the Edsel; yet the Chrysler Airflow, which died an equivalent death on showroom floors twenty-five years earlier, seems to be one of those disasters whose memory is treasured. Detroit's Dunkirk pearls. The reason for this rare esteem, one may divine from between the lines of Donald Bush's important and pioneering *Streamlined Decade*, must be that for all its commercial failure, the Airflow was true expression of the State of the Union under Roosevelt.

The idea of streamlined styling, as applied to ships, cars, trains and even buildings, serving to symbolize the drive behind the New Deal, is an interesting one. Indeed it is an upstart, since it works against the very cultural history it normally backs up; in the established view the New Deal goes with Popular Frontism in Europe and is therefore anti-Fascist and therefore pro-Bauhaus and therefore against streamlining. The kind of bad commercial design that the Bauhaus refugees like Gropius and their apologists like Sigfried Giedion had to extirpate from Western civilization; and so on.

Yet, against the grain of expatriate European abstract-art snobbery, one can make a serious case for the importance of streamlining or *Borax* as it was systematically mislabeled by its European opponents. The men who made streamlining were also the fathers of the profession of industrial design in North America: Norman Bel Geddes, Raymond Loewy, they wrote books and articles about their business and their aesthetics. Of these, Bel Geddes' *Horizons of 1932* is the first and best known. But *Teague's Design This Day: The Technique of Order in the Machine* Age of 1940 is the most solid and most revealing.

What it reveals, among other things, is that streamlining was not the opposite of European modern design but its logical continuation. Teague, while not very strict with well-informed about Le Corbusier; he matches him almost idea for idea and image for image (particularly about the Pantheon) as far as Le Corbusier goes. And then, gone on when Le Corbusier's nerve falls him as an *homme de Père machiniste*.

For, where the European modernist began to abandon those old sturrier mechanical analogies and engineering exegeses as soon as machinery ceased to resemble what air preferred abstract style, when aircraft ceased to resemble palatial buildings with biplane colonnades extending on either side—the Big Streamliners of American design tried to stay with machinery into the new age. When it had ceased to look like architecture on casters, and had begun to turn low, organic and curvaceous.

So came the streamlined ships, the tear-drop cars, those classic train like the Burlington Zephyr, and finally a whole streamlined future expounded in a series of exhibitions culminating in a *locus classicus* of Futurism if ever there was one, the New York World's Fair of 1939 with its "Highways and Horizons", "Road of the Future", the "Rocketport". A *locus classicus* is not a sacred site, and that 1939 futurism was hallowed long ago, but the Streamlined Moderne does still have one great shrine of pilgrimage—Hoover Dam.

There, by the man-made lake in the tamed desert, stands the power-pylon, stalk away like Stephen Spender's "nude giant girls" one can sing the body electric under heroic inscriptions in Moderne lettering in the company of winged Moderne statues of the Republic, and in the glow of the curve of the dam itself.

In Teague's book (why not in Bush's?) there is one of those pictures that is worth a thousand words: a vertical photograph taken at a Douglas DC-2 flying over a small, dark, wooded area, which

half filled. For Teague the persistence of the same streamlined forms in both airliner and dam, forms derived from stern necessity, performance and economy, was objective proof that his new line of beauty was real, not just an aesthetic whimsy.

Yet, with an irony that Donald Bush underplays, the tear-drop shape beloved of the Big Streamliners was just a whim for all of the second half of the decade, since it was in 1935 that Wynnham Kammer demonstrated that pointed tails and long tear-drop forms are not significantly better, aerodynamically, than forms with the flat back of a brick van or London bus. Since it took over a century to understand and believe this subversive discovery, one can hardly knock Bel Geddes and his contemporaries for not knowing it, but it does mean that for half the streamlined decade their "plastic ideal" (as Bush calls it) was sustained less by aerodynamic science than by the spirit of the age.

Bush's evocation and substantiation of the stream-lined zeitgeist, though delivered in a precise style and format that is sometimes uncomfortably close to collegiate revision notes—is convincing, chiefly because it finds convincing locations for designs and designers who locked have surely seen and for concepts previously out on various cultural limbs. Buckminster Fuller and his Dymaxion Ground Taxing Units, Bill Stout (of "Simplistic and add more lightness" fame), are at home in this company as is the "Chaitenore Choo-Choo" where else? Frank Lloyd Wright's offices for the Johnson Wax Company, difficult to place in modern architecture as commonly understood precisely because they look so much like industrial design, find a natural place here as the first (last?) masterpiece of the stream-lined architecture that apotheosized itself at the New York World's Fair.

To handle such material without intellectual confusion requires great polymathy, the kind of polymathy that one ought to be able to take for granted in design historians because of the polytechnological foundations of their subject-matter, but alas rarely can—Giedion never had it, nor Herbert Read, John Kuenen, even sometimes, the younger generation like Herbert Lindner, or even Raymond Loewy. But Dr Bush so rarely misses a trick or falls off the edge of his erudition that a minor bluff tends to look a far graver error than it really is.

So one's annoyance at the sloppy captioning of a picture of what is effectively the wrong aeroplane to make his point on page twenty-nine should be tempered by the realization that a historian of culture, who knows anything about the history of aviation and can see the connection between Bel Geddes's visions of 1929 and the Northrop realties of 1947. Again, there is some cosmetic

literature that would have ornamented his bibliography as well as fortifying his background, but Tom Foxworth's marvellous and maddening *The Speed Seekers*, for an understanding of speed, was probably published too late to be of help.

All these, however, are indeed minor faults. Where one quarrels more seriously with Dr Bush is over what must seem to be an extremely ill-judged chapter (but may only be a marginally misjudged one) in which he attempts—under the title "Dynamic Continuums"—to relate stream-lined styling to the Seamless-Web-of-Culture-as-understood-in-Departments-of-Humanities... and finds everything from stream-of-consciousness novels to chewing-gum a dynamic continuum, but—especially in that sense—the term has nothing to do with the discrete and clearly defined industrial objects illustrated on page after page of the book, nor even to do with the elongated Moderne motifs and speed-whiskers painted or sculpted on their sides.

Had he trusted his native American canny eye or had he read the first anti-Borax diatribe in the European press (by Edgar Kaufmann of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in the *Architectural Record* for August 1948), he would have surely seen and for the truest equivalent is big-band "swing" in the tradition that begins to emerge with Whiteman, matures under Goodman and Bob Crosby, and peaks out with Glenn Miller.

I cannot recall, offhand, whether the "Chaitenore Choo-Choo" was a streamliner, but I clearly recall film of the Twentieth Century Limited eating up the endless rails to the strains of "Honky Tonk Train Blues", and that really was the Spirit of America. Remember A-wheel. If Bush had done nothing else revolutionary in *The Streamlined Decade*, we would still owe him gratitude for having reminded us of those remarkable high-speed trains. They are the substance of the best chapter in the book—the best not only because he permits himself the minor coup of producing a "forgotten master" out of historical limbo (Otto Kuhler, who did the Milwaukee line, was indeed a forgotten master), but also because the products themselves still look so good.

It might seem paradoxical that a style of ornament and sculptural form claiming to derive from the further extremes of powered flight should find its most satisfactory expression as the last legacy of that most ponderous of earthbound transports, the steam engine, yet if the matter is turned about and seen in Donald Bush's historical perspective it may perfectly good sense. If it was the steam (truth that made America, then putting a new face on the Iron Horse was indeed a potent way of symbolizing a determination to remake America under a New Deal.



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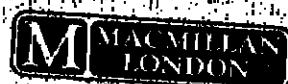
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# A duke out of his depth

By C. V. Wedgwood

HILARY L. RUBINSTEIN:  
Captain Luckless  
James, First Duke of Hamilton  
307pp. Scottish Academic Press. £6.

"It seemed to me the greatest injustice in the world that one who served his prince and his country so long and so faithfully and sealed all with his blood, should be deprived of the honour due to his memory." So wrote Gilbert Burnet in his painstaking apology for the first Duke of Hamilton. "The greatest injustice in the world" seems a rather exaggerated claim, though certainly Hamilton was done after his death. Somehow that not unkindly but scarcely respectful coming in. The classic comment, of course, was that of Alison Wilson, the aged housekeeper in *Old Mortality*: "Him that lost his head in the London-folk say it was a very gude ane, but it was aye a sair loss to him, pur gentleman."

During his life popular opinion was more vindictive, though more flattering to his intellect. Hamilton was cast by pamphleteers as an arch-villain in the Civil War, a scheming traitor to King Charles I with designs on the crown. He was, in fact, the next heir to the throne outside rather numerous royal family, but there is no evidence at all that he cherished regal ambitions. Yet the time-serving journalist Marchmont Nedham celebrated his execution (which closely followed that of the king) with a fervent burst of poetic vilification:

Rather than lie his ends would miss  
Betrayed his master with a kiss  
And buried in one common fate  
The glories of our Church and State.

That was absurd. Hamilton was no Judas and no traitor. He was a reasonably well-intentioned man, out of his depth in the sea of troubles with which he was faced to

struggle owing to the accident of his birth.

The richest and potentially the most influential nobleman in Scotland, he was a servant of King Charles from his youth and, after the death of Buckingham, his closest friend. This meant that he knew far more about court affairs in England than he knew about the political and religious complexities of Scotland. Yet it was natural enough that Charles should choose him to negotiate with the Covenanters when their revolt reached proportions that threatened the peace of both countries.

Hamilton did his devious best to deal with the situation but the leaders on the other side, especially Argyll, were very much cleverer than he was. (Possibly because he was a man—he tried to state up some sort of friendly alliance with Argyll; as things turned out, this looked awkwardly like treason rather than diplomacy.)

When civil war broke out Hamilton assured the king that the Covenanters would stay neutral and have nothing to do with Montrose's plan to raise the Scottish royalists. To do him justice, if the king had won the war in the first eight months—which looked quite possible—his advice would have been not won, the Covenanters invaded England as Parliament's allies and Montrose's offer was accepted six months too late. At this point Charles turned on Hamilton, had him arrested when he came to Oxford to explain his error of judgment, refused to listen to his excuses or even to see him. Hamilton felt himself to be much ill-used.

At last, when Charles was a prisoner at Carlisle, Hamilton achieved something. He negotiated the Engagement, by which the more moderate Covenanters made a secret treaty with the king, under taking to leave England and restore him to his throne. The enterprise failed with fatal consequences. Hamilton and the Scots were overwhelmingly defeated by Cromwell,

whose victorious army proceeded with the minimum of delay to the king on trial. Hamilton himself was tried and executed a few weeks later.

Such persistent misjudgements and the nickname "Captain Luckless" has led Hilary L. Rubinstein to use this name for her book. Her point is that Hamilton, though a key figure in the reign of Charles I, no less than the more famous, gifted and dynamic supporters, Laud, or Strafford, contributed in no very good way to the shaping of events and the better heads of better men.

She has used the sources judiciously to illuminate the Scottish elements of the Civil War and she gives a sympathetic portrait of Hamilton himself. He was a man of great energy and a great deal of courage, but he was a poor speaker, which deceived water more than the king and in some ways must have deceived Hamilton himself. He had a number of redeeming virtues. He was a considerate master, much loved by those who served him and always courteous to his inferiors, by no means a common virtue in his time. He was deeply attached to his wife, a very quick-witted brother and sister. He was a man of great courage, who caused a great embarrassment during the initial revolt in Scotland by taking his own tenants to fight for the Covenanters, riding at their head and threatening to show his own hand if he drew away against the Lord's servants.

His most fatal weakness, though, apart from his poor speaking, was a depression to which he gave up at critical moments. This probably accounted for his lameable management of the invasion of England after the Engagement, in emerging from this careful and well-founded biography he is indeed a tragic figure—he had not the man for that—but as a victim of circumstances deserving at least our sympathetic interest.

# Disentangling the Tudors

By G. R. Elton

C. S. L. DAVIES:  
Peace, Print and Protestantism  
1450-1558  
365pp. Harr-Davis, MacGibbon.  
£6.95.

As any given moment there are always four generations of historians at work at the case may be, not at work. The respected elders, from about 65 years of age, tend to consolidate their knowledge, an exercise which they usually find tedious. The younger ones (fifty to sixty-five) tend to get occupied with running things and hence their way to the archives, but they still think about it all. Those in their prime (thirty-five to fifty) find the call of teaching exceptionally heavy, but nevertheless manage to put out the results they gathered when themselves in the junior class. These, lastly, are the newcomers of the day, the men and women with the egg of the PhD shell still sticking to their ears and the fervent look of

discovery. The work of these generations is not, of course, mutually exclusive. The first, rehashing venerable knowledge (and in any case too old to gain the full financial benefit) is not the least wrapped up in their new-found knowledge to see two remaining acts, the present and the future, because they still know what students need.

Lord Blake, editor of the *Penguin* and *Macmillan* series, has wisely chosen his contributors in the main from this group, and in the *Disentangling the Tudors* he has chosen Dr Davies. It is his book, but it is a masterpiece of synthesis of very difficult and much disputed issues.

clear, well written, and comprehensive, without being overcrowded, though even here the reader is likely to struggle a little in the swamp of fifteenth-century dynastic history, among the names and names and names. The only theme insufficiently treated is the history of ideas, and writings, rather surprisingly in view of the second word of the title. In *Peace, Print and Protestantism*, Dr Davies splendidly laid the relative lack of work done on the later fifteenth century (though the forward units of the conquering army arrived in time to see the end of the great abundance of work done in the past century, where the dust raised by war further complicates his task). He holds the balance well between social and economic developments, valuable things, and religion and more on others.

In an age of rapid historical progress all general surveys are out of date before they appear, a fact which Dr Davies, on such subjects as the Tudors, has been able to exploit. His book is a masterpiece of synthesis of very difficult and much disputed issues. It is a book that every student of the Tudors should read. It is a book that every student of the Tudors should read. It is a book that every student of the Tudors should read.

trouble the student. Undergraduate will find here clear and judicious answers to many of their standard problems, with careful weight given to other historians' views, and this is an achievement which only those who confront the messy and the searching bibliography of the beginner can properly appreciate.

At the same time, it has to be said that the book does not quite escape the penalties of judiciousness. Respectful rehearsal of conflicting views and the avoidance of controversy can, and here do, produce a certain blandness; there are a good many places where a more radical practice, a more radical stance, would have produced a more useful result. The book is a masterpiece of synthesis of very difficult and much disputed issues. It is a book that every student of the Tudors should read. It is a book that every student of the Tudors should read. It is a book that every student of the Tudors should read.

His warnings very probably stem from his teaching too—from dealing with undergraduates always so passionate to discern "patterns" and use "models"—but they would be more effective still if he had succeeded in showing his acts as formidable as vigorous, even as violent as really they were. And some were ridiculous, contemptible, badly mistaken, vicious. Here a moderate judgement tends to reduce them all to pieces placed on the board by a fastidious, placid, equipped with a motive power of their own.

However, lucidity and judiciousness are true virtues, and every body, no matter how learned, will gain from reading this book. It is good to have yet another solid contribution to the web of understanding that is being woven for what remains of the sixteenth century and the early years of the period.



This postcard of 1912, issued to raise funds for orphans of the Titanic disaster, shows two of them, Doc Ockerden and George Dunbar, posing for pennies. It comes from John Lewis's *Collecting Postcard Epiphany* (160pp. Studio Vista, £8.50), the author's second book on the subject. He provides information as to sources of ephemera, as well as methods of cleaning and filing everything from used airline tickets to nineteenth-century hotel bills.

# Personality and statecraft

By Jasper Ridley

ALAN PALMER:  
Bismarck  
326pp with 18 illustrations.  
Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £6.95.

Bismarck has been the subject of many biographies. He has been vividly portrayed as a larger-than-life hero in Emil Ludwig's literary biography; shrewdly and brilliantly by A. J. P. Taylor; exhaustively by Eyck; and with new insight by the younger German historians. Alan Palmer has now produced an interesting and thoroughly readable biography which his publishers describe, with only slight exaggeration, as the "fullest comprehensive biography in English". It is less excusable for them to claim that Mr Palmer has provided the first clear identification of the English girl to whom he (Bismarck) was briefly engaged. There has never been any doubt as to her identity, and she has been named by several earlier biographers, though Eyck, astonishingly, did not know who she was. Mr Palmer has given us new details about her life and family, and his illustrations include a delightful portrait of Isabella Loraine-Smith.

Alan Palmer has presented the facts about Bismarck's diplomatic and political career with accuracy and clarity, although he is hampered by the restricted space at his disposal. It is impossible really to appreciate the skill with which Bismarck handled foreign policy without examining the day-to-day negotiations, the drafts and amendments of his despatches, and his changed adaptations of policy in the face of each new development in the crisis. This could only be done in a book, or series of books, dealing in much greater detail with the various diplomatic problems which arose between 1850 and 1890. It is easier for Alan

Palmer, in the comparatively limited space at his disposal, to give an account of Bismarck the man. It is not his fault if he is unable to add very much to what earlier biographers have said on this subject, and he has to be congratulated for not yielding to the temptation of presenting a false picture in order to say something different.

The most unsatisfactory feature of the book is that Mr Palmer does not like Bismarck. The character of Bismarck—his energy, his zest for life, combing his hair, his depression and hypochondria, his dominating personality, and what Mr Palmer rightly calls his "arrogance"—his combativeness, tempered by his shyness and, by a touch of sentimentality—has a great deal in common with that of other forceful statesmen of the same psychological type, for example, Henry VIII, Oliver Cromwell, Napoleon, Palmerston, Clemenceau, and Winston Churchill. No doubt such men are overbearing and exasperating, and have many vices to which a moralist might object, but they have exercised a fascination over many people both during their lifetimes and after their deaths, and more entertaining biographies of them are written by those who are fascinated than by those who disapprove. One does not want either hagiography or polemic denunciations, but Mr Palmer's cold and rather prim censoriousness sometimes obscures the reader's enthusiasm, not only for Bismarck, but also for the book.

Mr Palmer is so eager not to indulge in hero-worship that he can hardly bring himself to give Bismarck the credit for any diplomatic success. Like some other historians, he refuses to regard Bismarck's *Alvensleben Convention* with Russia in 1863 as a diplomatic triumph; but he gives no explanation as to why Russia, in the following year, refused to support Denmark against Prussia over Schleswig-Holstein, as she had done in 1848-50. Bismarck's

diplomacy over the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish throne in the summer of 1870 was intended to provoke France into committing an act of aggression. "Once again his calculations worked out badly," writes Mr Palmer. Yet within a week Bismarck's policy had succeeded, and France had declared war.

Mr Palmer's sympathy in the Franco-Prussian War is entirely on the side of France. He states that when Bismarck met the French Foreign Minister, Jules Favre, he "treated him disgracefully"; when Favre "pleaded eloquently for a just peace which would allow the French and German peoples to live side by side in friendship and understanding, Bismarck listened dispassionately, puffing contentedly at his after-dinner cigar".

He might at least have mentioned that Bismarck offered Favre a cigar, and treated him with greater civility than was shown by the French and Allied representatives to the German delegates at the armistice and peace talks in 1918 and 1919. But Bismarck, unlike the Allied statesmen, was not a First World War man, not animated by moral indignation against the French. He declared that he learnt his methods of diplomacy in the horse-fairs of Lorraine. Mr Palmer comments: "One sympathizes with the other truthears." When Princess Kathy Orlov, with whom Bismarck was in love, failed to meet him at Biarritz, Bismarck wrote to her that not refusal to come had made him conscious for the first time of the poor quality of the hotels and wine at Biarritz. "One sympathizes with Johannes (Bismarck's wife) and their seventeen-year-old daughter Marie," writes Mr Palmer. These comments are fair; but it might have been a better book if Mr Palmer had occasionally sympathized with Bismarck.

An author, however, is entitled to his prejudices. Mr Palmer is sometimes unfair to Bismarck, but he has written a lucid and stimulating biography. The illustrations are interesting; many of them are not widely known. The map is helpful.

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The imitation of art: left and right, Wagner's son Siegfried in the original 'Young Siegfried' costume of 1876, and his daughter Isolde as Isolde in a costume of 1886. Above, Siegfried and Winifred's four children, Wolfgang, Verena, Wieland and Friedhelm, as depicted for their nursery rhyme 'From Wolf Siegfried'.



The Tristan und Isolde controversy, the critical tension, discussed above in its perspective of divisions inside the musical desire and dramatic abstinence, between vocal self-surrender and avert verbal analysis. The elements Wagner conceived as partners have become enemies. Fission and fragmentation have also become work on the Ring. Wagner intended the Ring to have an impenetrable circularity, an exclusive whose aesthetic proportions circumscribe nature and history; the world, in the beginning of the Rhine, and ends with the world's end. But Günter Friedrich, in his *Covenants of the Ring*, a formal dissection inside the Ring, which earlier producers pressed, relying on unifying symbolic shapes like Hans Hotter's tilted doughnut or the towers of Wieland Wagner. Friedrich separates the four stages of the work, considering *Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, *Die Götterdämmerung*, and *Tristan und Isolde* as separate entities. Modern commentators respect the Wagnerian union of music and drama. Boulez polarizes the gap in time between Wagner's literary and musical achievements: his dramatic poem, along with the chivalric epic of the 1840s; the music lies ahead as a product of the 1870s, announcing the disintegration of romanticism.

Tristan und Isolde might be retitled *Tristan contra Isolde*, since Wagner's sexual ethic as developed by Lawrence has come to insist on the psychological enmity between men and women, and Auden has even suggested that the music is a trilingual relationship in the work is that of implicitly homosexual envy which links Tristan, Marke and Isolde. Conversely, music-drama now seems a core of a contest than an alliance between music and drama. In the course of the Ring's growth over the period from 1848, when the first instalment of the text was written, to 1874, when the score was completed, the contradictions inside the end of the work are revealed. The beginning of a work designed as an ironic model of its decline of bourgeois society, weakened by legislative trickery and industrial capitalism, come to renounce politics. *Das Rheingold* proposes a revolutionary change, *Götterdämmerung* a return to action and Wagner had learnt from Schopenhauer. Drama and music are separate arches extending in opposite directions: the text was written backwards, the music composed forward. Dramatically Wagner began at the end, with Siegfried's death, the anterior history of his manhood, and the political impasse which he created in order to overcome slowly unravelling from this. Musically the work grows from the hieratic severity of the prologue to the symphonic enmity of *Götterdämmerung*, and a gulf between early and late styles opens in the middle of *Siegfried*. In that long hiatus Wagner wrote *Tristan und Isolde*.

The drama has one conception of the characters, the music another. Drama is ruthlessly analytical, music gratuitously redemptive. Dramatically, Wotan is first a guileful politician, later a disconsolate itinerant, a master-magician, his own failures like Nixon, seeking his way of criticizing the music, inspecting and evaluating the words and their death-wish rather than simply trumpeting them forth. (Similarly, when he sings Siegmund, his softness and sweetness and Auden has even suggested that the music is a trilingual relationship in the work is that of implicitly homosexual envy which links Tristan, Marke and Isolde. Conversely, music-drama now seems a core of a contest than an alliance between music and drama. In the course of the Ring's growth over the period from 1848, when the first instalment of the text was written, to 1874, when the score was completed, the contradictions inside the end of the work are revealed. The beginning of a work designed as an ironic model of its decline of bourgeois society, weakened by legislative trickery and industrial capitalism, come to renounce politics. *Das Rheingold* proposes a revolutionary change, *Götterdämmerung* a return to action and Wagner had learnt from Schopenhauer. Drama and music are separate arches extending in opposite directions: the text was written backwards, the music composed forward. Dramatically Wagner began at the end, with Siegfried's death, the anterior history of his manhood, and the political impasse which he created in order to overcome slowly unravelling from this. Musically the work grows from the hieratic severity of the prologue to the symphonic enmity of *Götterdämmerung*, and a gulf between early and late styles opens in the middle of *Siegfried*. In that long hiatus Wagner wrote *Tristan und Isolde*.

These three characters dispute not only the meaning of the ring, but control of the Ring itself. Each proposes a different view of the work's intention. Philosophically, it centres in Wotan's agonized admission of the tragic necessity of his own end, acknowledging 'the eternal newness of reality and of life', as Wagner puts it. In the characters' understanding, his resignation to self-destruction, as Isolde is indifferent to the agonized introspection and chides him for not willing to die after her arrival, so Brünnhilde punctuates his monologue of self-condemnation with earnestly uncomprehending protests for recovery, and Siegfried bluntly ignores the interjection in which the Wanderer tries to explain his purpose. Wotan, however, presides over the drama even in his absence: he 'lives on in Siegfried' as Wagner told Ludwig in 1864, and as Waltraute says in the Ring, 'brooding spectator of the disaster in *Götterdämmerung*'.

Politically, the work's centre is Siegfried, the activist, the forerunner of Bakunin: like Wotan dreaming of Brünnhilde, Wagner defines the political process which generates the Dresden May Revolution in 1849. He describes the labouring millions 'used to an idea of themselves and of their just dignity by the shock of collective exaltation that the hero is creating. Siegfried acquires in the work the highest of the prophetic qualities: he is the one who has almost made the poor the starting-point of his life.'

In the *Erzählung* of the *Erzählung*, he is a spirit of Schopenhauerian wisdom, unquenchable by freely willing it. Dramatically, Siegfried is a rude, self-called hero, whose lack of fear is simply in sympathy with the generation of the Rhine, the eternal march, he is a spirit of optimistic optimism. Dramatically, Brünnhilde is at first a quarrelsome daughter, sarcastic, defiant and demanding, later a shrewish wife, denouncing Günther's feebleness, mocking Güter's sorrow and arrogantly lecturing Waltraute, musical pleading with Wotan, blessing Siegfried, or during the immolation, she is a force of gladly self-sacrificing and healing love.

Further complicating inconsistencies accumulate in the space between the drama and the allegory. Among the documents printed by Barth Mack and Voss in a letter of 1854 from Wagner to August Röckel expounding the meaning of the Ring. This letter employs allegory to defend Brünnhilde and Siegfried against the charge which condemns them for refusing to part with the ring. Brünnhilde expels Waltraute, wildly choosing Valhalla's destruction rather than sacrifice her loved one. Dramatically she is a victim of passionate delusion, but Wagner protects her allegorically by arguing that she has generously converted the ring into a symbol of love and therefore for her own purposes, cleansed it of Alberich's mercantile contagion. Siegfried is indicted by the drama when he ignores the pleas of the Rhinemaidens to return the ring. That scene is ugly and shameful: the maidens are teasing and coyly suggestive, Siegfried is indignant, without offence, and the stale manoeuvres of their conversation belong in a cocktail lounge. He lures them by hinting that he might turn over the ring as payment for their love, but she shrewdly remembers Günther's trugden on his way, regretting his timid fidelity. Wagner vindicates him by an arbitrary translation of the episode into symbolic terms, which allows him to expunge the troublesome dramatic evidence and to admire Siegfried without reservation. The folly which the Rhinemaidens deride becomes in Wagner's reading a sublime omniscience.

Here we discover that Siegfried is immeasurably knowing, for he knows the most important thing: that death is better than living in fear: he knows the ring, too, but scorns its power, for he has better things to do; he keeps it only as a symbol of the fact that he never learned fear. You must admit it: in all their glories, glory must pale before this man! To Wotan the ring means death, to Siegfried and Brünnhilde it means life, and Wagner endorses both points of view at once.

These three characters dispute not only the meaning of the ring, but control of the Ring itself. Each proposes a different view of the work's intention. Philosophically, it centres in Wotan's agonized admission of the tragic necessity of his own end, acknowledging 'the eternal newness of reality and of life', as Wagner puts it. In the characters' understanding, his resignation to self-destruction, as Isolde is indifferent to the agonized introspection and chides him for not willing to die after her arrival, so Brünnhilde punctuates his monologue of self-condemnation with earnestly uncomprehending protests for recovery, and Siegfried bluntly ignores the interjection in which the Wanderer tries to explain his purpose. Wotan, however, presides over the drama even in his absence: he 'lives on in Siegfried' as Wagner told Ludwig in 1864, and as Waltraute says in the Ring, 'brooding spectator of the disaster in *Götterdämmerung*'.

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Barth, Mack and Voss perform a similar service for Wagner—they disfigure him, choosing images which contradict the modern notion of his works as abstract morality plays by revealing the opulent furnishings and novelistic literariness of nineteenth-century settings, arranging the documents so as to contravene his own official version of events, domesticating him. No longer the tyrannical master, the Wagner of this volume is a confident, not laborative, tentative, and fanatical, sharing the composition of *Parzifal* with Cosima each day, confessing his nervous dread of the scene between Kundry and Parsifal, and allegory by questioning her about the significance of Titurel or making improper comparisons between Alberich and King Lear. The three editors have secularized Wagner: he is neither the ethnic saint of Houston Stewart Chamberlain nor the apocalyptic prophet of the *Meistersinger*. But they have almost made him likeable.

The poor the starting-point of his life.

In one of the documents, Minna is mostly humorous about this destruction of the singer by the role. After her loss her voice while preparing for *Tristan* in Vienna, 'so Isolde will have the right hero found for her. They really are a much too enamoured and odious couple. The joke's scurrilous subject transpires: the sexual exhaustion of *Tristan* hurried by ravaging Isolde into a vocal indisposition! sex is notoriously damaging to the high notes of tenors.

Singers today, like critics, refuse to be demonized by Wagner. Birgit Nilsson was justly remarked that all you need to sing Isolde is a great Isolde because of her nonchalant distance from the role and her emotional distance from it. Similarly, the great *Tristan* of the day, John Vickers, sings the part rarely, grudgingly, and in a spirit of disagreement. He sang it this season to deconstruct Wagner: *Tristan*, humid, discomfited, discerned the Venetian lagoon with its elegiac, is translated to the sandy wastes of Texas; instead of the temple of a green hill, the Dallas Civic Opera performs in an auditorium in the State Fair Park, an Art Deco wonderland of plaster, football stadium and corals for a livestock.

Dallas company's first attempt at Wagner, and an extraordinary success, in which the novelty of the location was supported by the originality of the interpretation.

Romantic criticism, refracted in the novels of Lawrence, saw *Tristan* as a work in which the woman consumes the man, Nilsson once made the point succinctly at

the Metropolitan in New York by vanquishing a trio of *Tristans* in a single performance. The third act of female intuition and generous impulse over fratricidal vindictive Telsion of Vickers roars as the man's absorption into the relationship: instead of repressed oceanic woman, *Tristan* now seems to describe the woman's passionate incomprehension of the suffering, abstracted, intellectual man. The side of the Dallas performance, and violently horrid characterization were redeemed by the fatherly tenderness and protective condescension with which Vickers as Tristan condescended her, gently attempting to renounce her of the wisdom of an erotic union.

Vickers has described his loathing for Wotan. In interviews, malign persuasion which is a force of sexual abandon in *Tristan* and *Parzifal*, but when he sang the work Wieland's cruciform interpretative diagram which impiously cast

Parsifal as the saviour. The complexity of his *Tristan* derives from his moral suspicion, for it laces his soul the troubled, self-morose sensual woman, and to set the text against the music. Late-romantic them in the passionate heartbreak of his unique style of declamation, and native inside the work to Wagner's corrupting music.

The music agitates towards union; the drama, as Vickers projects it, insists on separation. The mind; the drama, expressed in words and the flinty tone of his voice, preserves the vigilance of an anti-heroic and anti-sexual, reserved and restrained, motionless and vocally subdued, as if he did not surrender himself for fear soft singing which makes his paragon in the second act.

So starben wir, um ungetrennt ewig ewig ohne End so heartbreakingly beautiful, is a

way of criticizing the music, inspecting and evaluating the words and their death-wish rather than simply trumpeting them forth. (Similarly, when he sings Siegmund, his softness and sweetness and Auden has even suggested that the music is a trilingual relationship in the work is that of implicitly homosexual envy which links Tristan, Marke and Isolde. Conversely, music-drama now seems a core of a contest than an alliance between music and drama. In the course of the Ring's growth over the period from 1848, when the first instalment of the text was written, to 1874, when the score was completed, the contradictions inside the end of the work are revealed. The beginning of a work designed as an ironic model of its decline of bourgeois society, weakened by legislative trickery and industrial capitalism, come to renounce politics. *Das Rheingold* proposes a revolutionary change, *Götterdämmerung* a return to action and Wagner had learnt from Schopenhauer. Drama and music are separate arches extending in opposite directions: the text was written backwards, the music composed forward. Dramatically Wagner began at the end, with Siegfried's death, the anterior history of his manhood, and the political impasse which he created in order to overcome slowly unravelling from this. Musically the work grows from the hieratic severity of the prologue to the symphonic enmity of *Götterdämmerung*, and a gulf between early and late styles opens in the middle of *Siegfried*. In that long hiatus Wagner wrote *Tristan und Isolde*.

The drama has one conception of the characters, the music another. Drama is ruthlessly analytical, music gratuitously redemptive. Dramatically, Wotan is first a guileful politician, later a disconsolate itinerant, a master-magician, his own failures like Nixon, seeking his way of criticizing the music, inspecting and evaluating the words and their death-wish rather than simply trumpeting them forth. (Similarly, when he sings Siegmund, his softness and sweetness and Auden has even suggested that the music is a trilingual relationship in the work is that of implicitly homosexual envy which links Tristan, Marke and Isolde. Conversely, music-drama now seems a core of a contest than an alliance between music and drama. In the course of the Ring's growth over the period from 1848, when the first instalment of the text was written, to 1874, when the score was completed, the contradictions inside the end of the work are revealed. The beginning of a work designed as an ironic model of its decline of bourgeois society, weakened by legislative trickery and industrial capitalism, come to renounce politics. *Das Rheingold* proposes a revolutionary change, *Götterdämmerung* a return to action and Wagner had learnt from Schopenhauer. Drama and music are separate arches extending in opposite directions: the text was written backwards, the music composed forward. Dramatically Wagner began at the end, with Siegfried's death, the anterior history of his manhood, and the political impasse which he created in order to overcome slowly unravelling from this. Musically the work grows from the hieratic severity of the prologue to the symphonic enmity of *Götterdämmerung*, and a gulf between early and late styles opens in the middle of *Siegfried*. In that long hiatus Wagner wrote *Tristan und Isolde*.

These three characters dispute not only the meaning of the ring, but control of the Ring itself. Each proposes a different view of the work's intention. Philosophically, it centres in Wotan's agonized admission of the tragic necessity of his own end, acknowledging 'the eternal newness of reality and of life', as Wagner puts it. In the characters' understanding, his resignation to self-destruction, as Isolde is indifferent to the agonized introspection and chides him for not willing to die after her arrival, so Brünnhilde punctuates his monologue of self-condemnation with earnestly uncomprehending protests for recovery, and Siegfried bluntly ignores the interjection in which the Wanderer tries to explain his purpose. Wotan, however, presides over the drama even in his absence: he 'lives on in Siegfried' as Wagner told Ludwig in 1864, and as Waltraute says in the Ring, 'brooding spectator of the disaster in *Götterdämmerung*'.

Politically, the work's centre is Siegfried, the activist, the forerunner of Bakunin: like Wotan dreaming of Brünnhilde, Wagner defines the political process which generates the Dresden May Revolution in 1849. He describes the labouring millions 'used to an idea of themselves and of their just dignity by the shock of collective exaltation that the hero is creating. Siegfried acquires in the work the highest of the prophetic qualities: he is the one who has almost made the poor the starting-point of his life.'

The poor the starting-point of his life.

Barth, Mack and Voss perform a similar service for Wagner—they disfigure him, choosing images which contradict the modern notion of his works as abstract morality plays by revealing the opulent furnishings and novelistic literariness of nineteenth-century settings, arranging the documents so as to contravene his own official version of events, domesticating him. No longer the tyrannical master, the Wagner of this volume is a confident, not laborative, tentative, and fanatical, sharing the composition of *Parzifal* with Cosima each day, confessing his nervous dread of the scene between Kundry and Parsifal, and allegory by questioning her about the significance of Titurel or making improper comparisons between Alberich and King Lear. The three editors have secularized Wagner: he is neither the ethnic saint of Houston Stewart Chamberlain nor the apocalyptic prophet of the *Meistersinger*. But they have almost made him likeable.

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# The sins of the crusaders

By R. C. Smell

HARRY W. HAZARD (Editor):  
A History of the Crusades  
Volume 3: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.  
813pp. University of Wisconsin Press (AUPG). £17.50.

The editors of cooperative histories are among the unsung heroes of modern historical scholarship. For years on end they pursue their exacting and unrewarding task, exercising all the arts of diplomacy in order to persuade the contributors to abbreviate, extend, revise, even to write the chapters they have promised. All honour, therefore, to Kenneth M. Setton and Harry W. Hazard, who have been closely concerned with *A History of the Crusades* for more than a quarter of a century.

This third volume of what has become known as the Pennsylvania History of the Crusades appears under the imprint of the University of Wisconsin. It extends the chronological framework established in the period 1200-1300, thus supplementing in scope all previous volumes of the subject, which have dealt with it in a short tail-piece. The first and last chapters of this volume are respectively concerned with the crusades in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There was no expedition to the Holy Land in this period, and this prime objective of the earlier crusades was the subject of no more than project and discussion. Major crusades were organized in other areas and against peoples who were not Muslims, and there is a chapter to each of Spain and Portugal, the Baltic, the Hussites. There are three chapters devoted to non-Christian governments or peoples whose activities helped to shape the history of the crusades: those of North

Africa, the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and the Mongols. Like the comparable chapters in earlier volumes, these are a particular boon to students, since they provide essential information difficult to find elsewhere in so convenient a form.

The main subject-matter of the volume, however, is the surface history of political and military events in those parts of the eastern Mediterranean which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were still under Christian rule, some of them as the result of earlier crusades. Thus a pair of chapters is given to each of the following subjects: Cyprus, Byzantium, the Mamluks, the Catalans and Florentines in Greece, and the Hospitallers at Rhodes.

This third volume appears just twenty years after the first and thirteen after the second; we are told that the publication of three further volumes will be pushed on "with all deliberate speed". Deliberation brings important rewards, especially thoroughness and exactitude in all points of fact and detail, and the appointment of Professor Hazard as the editor of this latest volume is a sufficient guarantee of the highest possible standards in these respects. But there is also a price to be paid. The book's table of contents shows that four of its thirteen contributors have not survived to see the publication of their work, and it is clear that some of the chapters were written many years ago.

A. S. Atiya has contributed a chapter entitled "The crusade in the fourteenth century". This should be of key-note importance, but it contains nothing he did not publish in 1938 in his book *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. If the two are read side by side it can be seen how the chapter is composed entirely of material from the book, even to the many phrases which are pressed into service for the second time, or are left only concealed by the most obvious of paraphrasing. The same is true

of his concluding chapter, "The aftermath of the Crusades". The author seems to assume that on these subjects the last word was spoken in 1939 and that in the years which have since elapsed there has been no need for any rethinking or rewriting.

In these respects the new volume, from the moment of its birth, already bears a somewhat antiquated air. The crusader studies were supposed that crusader studies were in the doldrums; yet during the past twenty years they have been enriched by contributions of striking importance and originality by Prager, Hans Mayer, J. A. Brundage and J. S. C. Riley-Smith—none of whom, incidentally, has yet contributed to the Pennsylvania (or Wisconsin) History. But other scholars who have helped to write this volume do much to correct this impression because, like Professor Setton and Anthony Luttrell, they are still actively at work in the field on named topics. The last-named volume refers in his chapter to no fewer than twenty-seven papers of scholars like Jean Richard, Joshua Prawer, Hans Mayer, J. A. Brundage and J. S. C. Riley-Smith—none of whom, incidentally, has yet contributed to the Pennsylvania (or Wisconsin) History. But other scholars who have helped to write this volume do much to correct this impression because, like Professor Setton and Anthony Luttrell, they are still actively at work in the field on named topics. The last-named volume refers in his chapter to no fewer than twenty-seven papers of scholars like Jean Richard, Joshua Prawer, Hans Mayer, J. A. Brundage and J. S. C. Riley-Smith—none of whom, incidentally, has yet contributed to the Pennsylvania (or Wisconsin) History.

Any book which is the work of a team of writers is likely to be uneven in standard, and in this instance the spread of achievement is even wider than most. At one end of the scale the chapter on the Mamluk sultans is superficial in the point of triviality, and the judiciously over-written chapters on Cyprus and in this field by Mrs. Liddle and Sir George Hill. At the other end of the scale, some of the subjects are discussed at a high level by acknowledged authorities: Professor Setton on the Catalans, Dr. Luttrell on the Hospitallers, P. G. Heymann on the Hussites, Denis Sinor on the Mongols.

It is, however, sometimes difficult to understand editorial policy on the comparative space allotted to different topics. The chapters on the Franks in Attica, the Mamluks and

Rhodes fill 276 pages; this is more than are given, in earlier volumes, to the crusader states in Syria and the Holy Land. The Catalans in Greece are given nearly as half as much space again as the Latin states in Syria during the second century of their existence. This disparity is unexpected and odd. The Catalans did not enter Greece as the result of a crusade and their connection with the crusading movement seems remote. Their history as recounted in these chapters is a series of small-scale military operations or of non-events, of orders sent from Sicily or Aragon which were never observed in Greece or of claims made on the territory by those who never went there.

This slight connection between anything which can be called a crusade and the subject-matter of two substantial chapters may help to explain how the editors have been able to base so large a book on topics on which previous historians have written comparatively little. Every major historical episode in the later Middle Ages in which the crusade is an element has been included, not for the purpose of isolating and studying that element, but lock, stock and barrel. By the German crusade in the Baltic, wrote E. N. Johnson, "is meant the Elbe-Saale frontier to the shores of Lake Peipus. It is not historically possible to separate the crusade from expansion and colonization in this area." And so the whole process is surveyed. "The 'crusade' lasted some six centuries and more." The Christian reconquest in Spain is treated in much the same way, with the crusading element mentioned rarely and intermittently. The result and the snail is true of the chapter on an attack made on the Hussites in Bohemia during the 1420s—is not to be distinguished from the kind of account which might appear in a general textbook.

It might be supposed that, in a history of the crusades, it is the crusading element which would be put under the microscope. What considerations led to a decision to

give an attack the form of a crusade; how and where was the crusade promoted; most particularly, why did the appeal elicit a response? On matters such as these, the volume is silent. As to those who left homes and families to risk death, wounds and the dangers of the unknown, we are told only one thing, and we are told it incessantly: that they were for blood and plunder, quick to turn tail if either were hard to come by. For Professor Heymann the crusade against the Hussites was marked by "confusion, disorganization, cowardice and discipline"; by lack of strategy, discipline and preparation. The crusaders became "totally defeated as soon as they had to deal with a strong, well organized army instead of helpless peasants". The work was founded on "human misery, exploitation and human misery, exploitation". In Spain the crusades from north of the Pyrenees had answered the call of Pope Innocent III, discouraged by "the number of hard fighting and the small spoils" and "ignominiously" the crusade and returned home.

Was there no more to the crusades and crusaders than this? If there was not, then why on earth did people respond to the preaching of such successive expeditions through so many centuries? What, for that matter, was a crusade? This third volume, like its two predecessors, makes important contributions to the history of the crusades and the crusaders, but there are also fundamental questions to which the three quarters of a million words so far published have no answer. The nature of a crusade; the power of its appeal to ordinary people; the role of the crusade in creating and organizing the movement; these are the body and heart of the matter, and what they can be inserted, however belatedly, in volumes still to come, then this ambitious and erudite enterprise will take on the appearance of a cenotaph of learning.

# Watch on the Rhine

By F. L. Carsten

KEITH L. NELSON:  
Victors Divided  
America and the Allies in Germany 1918-1923  
411pp. University of California Press. £13.

In 1919 the Treaty of Versailles stipulated that "as a guarantee for the execution of the present Treaty by Germany, the German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years". After the armistice, units of four Allied armies—French, British, Belgian and American—occupied the left bank, with separate zones of occupation and administration: the British around Cologne, the Americans around Coblenz. The latter, however, only stayed in the Rhineland for just over four years. They were withdrawn, partly as a concession to growing American isolationism, partly in protest against the French occupation of the Ruhr. In January 1923, Keith Nelson's *Victors Divided* is a history of this American occupation force and its relations with the Allies and the Germans, largely drawn from hitherto unpublished sources, mainly American, and partly British, French or German.

Almost from the beginning the Americans, against their inclinations, were drawn into the role of mediator between the French and the Germans, so that the latter came to look upon the Americans as their protectors and were strongly opposed to their eventual withdrawal. Already in January, 1919, General Groener was able to state to the German cabinet:

"We have an absolute ally in the American army. They have finished with the French. Their characters are totally unchangeable. An American officer has been finished with the French for the next two hundred years. The reason is that the French are dirty, and the Americans are fanatics of cleanliness. . . . But the causes of friction had

little to do with habits of personal hygiene. They were connected with greater American tolerance towards the vanquished. Differences of occupation in the various zones of occupation, the French desire for revenge and the abasement of Germany, their support for Rhineland occupiers and the Germans soon became friendly at Coblenz, while they quickly deteriorated in the French zone.

In this atmosphere of mutual distrust even an American official who originally was markedly pro-French in his attitude came to sympathize more and more with the Germans and their advances. This was General Henry T. Allen, who for some years was the commanding general in the Coblenz zone and the American representative on the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission. The emergence as the real hero of this study and he played a far more significant role than his British counterparts. This may have been due to the fact that the British representative on the Rhineland Commission changed several times, or to the fact that the British ambassador in Berlin, Lord D'Abernon, whose name is strangely absent from the book. From what it tells us British policy in the Rhineland seems to have been wavering and rather ineffective.

By contrast General Allen's role was important, although he was often unable to mitigate French harshness, and even when he succeeded it was usually not for long. This was, above all, because of the weak backing he received from Washington, especially when Woodrow Wilson was succeeded by Warren Harding and that came for the return of the "boys" arose in full force. Indeed, Harding had already declared during the election campaign: "They haven't any business there, and just as soon as we have peace we will get them out of there." The French, however, were sure they will be coming home, as they ought to come. The American strength at Coblenz was quickly reduced from about 15,000 men to a mere 2,000 in July, 1922, so that General Allen had to lead French troops into the American zone. At the beginning of January, 1925, the United States Senate voted by

fifty-seven to six votes to end American participation in the occupied Rhineland.

The strength of Professor Nelson's book lies in its firm linking of events in the Rhineland with developments at home in America, in the Government as well as in Congress. Where it is weaker is in connecting these with the German policy and internal German affairs. The essential German background is only sketched in lightly, and not always correctly. We are told, for example, that the assassination of the Bavarian Prime Minister, Eisner, in February, 1919, "led to several weeks of civil war in Munich", and that in April "a Bolshevik regime" was established there. In fact, there was no civil war after the Eisner murder, and the Munich Council Republic of April 5 was not Bolshevik.

It is equally open to doubt whether the occupation of the Rhineland in December, 1918, "undoubtedly weakened the political revolution" in Germany, as claimed by the author; for its decline was due to the extreme weakness of the left and the pusillanimity of the moderate Social Democrats, and above all to the fact that there was over and over again no one to maintain the maintenance of law and order. It is also incorrect to talk about a "sizable" or "unimportant" separatist movement in the Rhineland. There were many Catholics such as Konrad Adenauer, who desired a separation from Prussia, not from Germany. But they can hardly be classified as "separatists", and a proper distinction between the two tendencies should be made. The separatists never had a sizable following.

This is clearly a study of American policy and American influences in Germany, but it is a pity that comparatively little is said about the German reaction to round off the picture. Equally desirable would be a comparison with British occupation policy and its success or the lack of it. But criticism should not overlook the real merits of this book: it presents us with a readable and interesting picture of American policy in action, a quarter of a century before Potsdam and the Allied occupation of 1945.

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# Freedom of the air

By Michael Balfour

ARTHUR WILLIAMS:  
Broadcasting and Democracy in West Germany  
156pp. Bradford University Press/Clarendon Press, Oxford. £6.

When, as director of information services in the British Zone of Germany, I was considering the form to give to a post-occupation broadcast system, I found myself up against a problem. My natural inclination was to set up a public service organisation on the lines of the BBC. But this would require a board of governors, and it did not need much familiarity with German conditions to foresee that, if such a board was to be representative of the public, the selection of its members could be left to ministers, since they would think themselves entitled to pick it with their own people. I accordingly suggested to Hugh Carleton Greene, my head of radio, that a "nominating college" should be brought in, consisting not only of politicians but also of persons holding specified positions in fields such as religion, education and the arts. The idea found favour and, myself had left, some members of the kind was embodied in the original constitution of North German Broadcasting, and the stations in the zone were set up on a "public service" basis, but also the public service concept was in fact a mixture of "Broadcasting and Democracy".

Establishment of the Federal Republic in 1949 raised the question of what should be provided at the federal level. It was found in an "ad hoc" manner that the people, through their stations, without participation by the

federal or the Land governments. Perhaps the most important function of the ARD was to act as an exchange-point for television material, without which the individual stations would have been unable to afford their own services. The Adenauer Government's attempt between 1955 and 1960 to establish a television service of its own led the Constitutional Court to forbid any such organisation as infringing the rights given by the Basic Law to the Lander. Consequently when the Second Television Service was set up in 1961-63, it was by agreement between the Land governments. But their participation brought the channel under political influence, and staff posts have had to be shared out between the parties with little regard to the relative competence of the persons so appointed.

Political influence also crept in when in 1954 the availability of extra wavelengths made it possible to separate West from North German Broadcasting, the constitution of both the new bodies put the selection of the administrative councils (boards of governors) into the exclusive hands of the parliaments of the Lander served by each station. Something of the same saga has been repeated in Bavaria in 1972 but defeated by an outburst of public opinion. More recently the programme staffs of the various stations have been organising themselves to safeguard their freedom of expression from political interference.

A main cause of this trend (not mentioned by Mr. Williams) lay in the part played by radio and still more by television in provoking public criticism of the more highly handed actions indirectly helping the election of the SPD to power. In West Germany, as elsewhere, television's political influence has shown itself to be so great that politicians naturally try to get their own way without any strong conditions of impartiality in its

public services, the concept of a staff serving the public interest can establish itself under current conditions. Or is the pressure to politicise so strong that we may begin to find it undermining our own tradition?

This is an important question, especially as it is complicated by a financial crisis, and a good book about it would be welcome. Unfortunately Mr. Williams, although having a lot that is sensible to say, is too close to his subject for clarity. He reaches the sound conclusion that the people who matter most are the intendents, but forgets that he has never explained to readers who may not be familiar with the term exactly what an "intendant" is or does. He devotes several pages to the Second Television Service but never says exactly how the members of its administrative council are appointed. The writing is often clumsy.

"Tendentious" variations were linked with the demand for more freedom and led the backing of a major political party. If the tendency in reporting were to the left, the move to eliminate or undermine authority of the left and the political support for it from the left, then the task of a "great conspiracy" would have been well-founded.

The use of neologisms like "counter-tradition", "discontinuity", and "congener" does not make for quick understanding. And it is overweighing a book of 188 pages to give it a foreword, a preface and an introduction.

Barton Paul's *Radio and Television Broadcasting in Eastern Europe* (1972) is a comprehensive account of the history of the subject, and a very readable one. It is a pity that the author's view of the subject and his treatment of it in the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia







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## The cancer scene

By M. A. Epstein

**JUNE GOODFIELD:**  
*Cancer Under Siege*  
272pp. Hutchinson. £4.95.

Over the past twenty years June Goodfield has established a reputation for her work in the history and philosophy of science. She has written the book that started writing *Cancer Under Siege* as a form of therapy following a series of unexpected personal blows in the hope that "an objective, dispassionate account of the most difficult problem in biology" would occupy her so that the "storms of feelings" might pass. It is impossible to know how successful the writing of the book proved in allowing her to patch together the threads of her past life, but she has certainly given an admirable and enthralling account of several aspects of the basic problem of cancer causation, and of the organization and politics of cancer research.

Building on her knowledge of scientific development, Dr Goodfield has talked extensively with doctors specializing in the treatment of cancer, with research workers investigating causation and advances in therapy, with examples of the new breed of American scientific writer, with scientific administrators, and with a number of prestigious figures in cancer and the fields of general biology which impinge upon it.

She has also spent time watching the day-to-day activities, rituals and preoccupations of those treating cancer in specialized centres or field stations. As a result, Dr Goodfield provides an eminently readable guidebook to cancer suitable for any intelligent layman who wishes to know something about the nature of this disease and current efforts to deal with it. In Western societies we are still wrestling with a curious inhibition about cancer whereby the

word itself induces a sense of dread, and to have the disease is socially embarrassing. In view of the very striking progress which has been made over the past few decades in providing successful treatment for several previously fatal forms of cancer, in controlling for appreciable periods many other forms of the disease, and in enlarging our understanding of the basic mechanisms of causation, it is high time that such attitudes were relinquished, and *Cancer Under Siege* is therefore to be welcomed.

After a brief general introduction, Dr Goodfield describes her visit to the borders of the Caspian Sea where an intensive epidemiological survey is attempting to pinpoint the local factors responsible for a strikingly high incidence of cancer of the oesophagus among nomadic Turkomans. Despite glorified personal histories of the workers involved in this survey and some purple passages about the terrain in general, the book is back at the mountains of the USSR, desolate and stark, gashed open by erosion, the chemicals and minerals gushing from the earth—"one is how fields of general research is conducted and how it can contribute to knowledge of cancer."

If the factors causing oesophageal cancer among the Turkomans can indeed be found, or for that matter cancer at the back of the nose among the southern Chinese or of ant polio among the Bantu, important pointers for both basic research and prevention become available.

However, the section which follows, on viruses and cancer, is less felicitous. Once again, we are told of a glamorized description of appearance, personalities and behaviour of a group of workers, but unfortunately Dr Goodfield appears to have chosen to spend her time with former Sloan-Kettering Institute in New York, rather than in a leading tumour virus laboratory. On the other hand, even this is a bonus since we are afforded many insights into the pressures and

activities within this well-known institution which so recently has made over the scientific scandal of "the case of the painted mice".

Another weak chapter follows in which too much credence is given to the immunological treatment of cancer, although the balance of account of work with, and the role of, chemical therapeutic agents.

But one must not complain; later sections of the book are admirably done. The public is justifiably concerned to know just what progress has been made in the basic understanding of cancer and its treatment, and expended on this research through the world, and particularly in the United States where the scale of the effort is prodigious. Dr Goodfield gives a marvellous analysis of the politics of the American cancer programme and of the "pressure cooker" atmosphere created by the huge sums of money involved. The pressures affecting individual scientists and doctors are described to the point of caricature, and the influences currently bearing on their professional lives, and the ways these differ in Europe and the United States. To keep our feet on the ground the book concludes with some intimate details of the struggles and reactions of actual cancer patients to the problems caused by their disease, and it is encouraging to realize that so many sufferers who can look forward to a cure today, would have been doomed twenty years ago.

It is a pity that Dr Goodfield with her scientific background should have included so many minor errors of fact, and that the book should be so full of grammatical and typographical errors; it is also a pity that she seems to have given equal weight to the views and ideas of some scientific pygmies as she has to those of the giants. Nevertheless, if only for the brilliant sections on cancer politics and the lives of cancer research workers and doctors, the book should be welcomed and widely read.

## The good microbes

By J. F. Watkins

**BERNARD DIXON:**  
*Invisible Allies*  
251pp. Maurice Temple Smith. £4.

The vast majority of micro-organisms on and in the earth do not cause disease. They work humbly, for the good of man at all kinds of tasks, from sewage disposal to the making of rare wines, without honour or the reward of popular acclaim. All the glory goes to the wicked minority of fascist bandits who slaughter human beings or make their lives uncomfortable.

Bernard Dixon has attempted in *Invisible Allies* to restore balance by describing the activities of the good microbes. His account of the social and industrial activities of the good micro-organisms is, on the whole, accurate, and his translations of biochemical and molecular biological processes into language comprehensible to the layman are well done. The only irritating error I encountered was his misspelling of "pills" as "pillus".

Dr Dixon's chapter on wine and beer is particularly good. It never fails that in the making of champagne, a "disgorgement" of whose duty it is to fill the bottles a little each day until they stand on their heads. At this point a brief twist of the cork allows the sediment of dead yeast cells to be removed.

In a more practical area it was surprising to be told that the very oil pollution poured in millions of barrels from the sea onto the sands and beaches, with the risk of doing damage to the sea life, was a fine and undervalued role of microbes in improving the quality of life, which faced with a similar problem, could do the oil with little or no damage, which caused it to sink into

the depths where microbes would rapidly break it down.

Again, the state of Israel owes its existence in part to the activities of a species of Clostridium for, in 1915, Chaim Weizmann discovered that this organism could be used to make acetone and butyl alcohol out of starch. Dr Dixon's hint that Lloyd George's gratitude was so great that he gave the Balfour Declaration, but it is true that although Dr Dixon does not say this) that the patent profits on Clostridium acetone-butyl alcohol were largely used by Weizmann to promote the Zionist cause. These, like myself, who relish this kind of information, will enjoy this book.

In his more polemical attitudes Dr Dixon is often silly. In reaction to the excessive anthropocentrism of human thinking about microbes, he states that their sex life is more honest and interesting than that of Homo sapiens. In my experience, at least, the reverse is true. What could be duller than splitting into two identical halves at regular intervals? Later he suggests that we will not take microbes seriously until immortality. He castigates the medical profession because he men-

bars act as public relations officers for the nasty microbes, to the detriment of full exploitation of the useful ones, and goes so far as to suggest that the impending disappearance of smallpox virus from human populations is an ecological disaster. On this point he can be reassured, for several laboratories, including bacterial warfare establishments, hold smallpox virus in their freezers. When he suggests that the real cause of tuberculosis is poverty and hunger, and not Mycobacterium tuberculosis, he goes too far. Many poor and hungry people develop tuberculosis. It is true, but cholera and D. H. Lawrence were not poor, nor were they very hungry, and yet they, with millions of other members of the middle and upper classes, perished of the disease. If the organism did not exist, no one, however watched, would suffer from this miserable affliction.

It is not easy to imagine the public for this book. It is too elementary for professional microbiologists, although it could be useful reading for first-year students of the subject and for sixth-form biology students. Perhaps it would be most enjoyed by clergymen in quiet country retreats who wish to contemplate the wonders of creation.

## Global view

By J. G. Porter

**PETER LANCASTER BROWN:**  
*Planet Earth*  
264pp. Blondland. £2.95.

This new volume in the Blondland Colour series gives a wide-ranging account of the earth sciences, most of which have made enormous strides in recent years. A brief account of the origin of the universe and of the solar system leads to the study of the earth as a planet, and to the effects of gravity and of geomagnetism. A large section of the book is naturally devoted to geology, and to the changes that take place continuously in the structure of the earth. A final chapter deals with the origins of life and the ascent of man.

There are more than a hundred illustrations, including eighty pages in colour. Peter Lancaster Brown has attempted in this remarkable volume to cover a vast subject, and the reader may find that some of the explanations are a little detailed. However, the work is a good introduction to the many sciences involved in our study of the earth.

## The short-story machine

By Paul Ignoutus

**MICHAEL G. LERNER:**  
*Maupassant*  
301pp and 8 plates. Allen and Unwin. £7.50.

Guy de Maupassant had, in his own words, a "meteoric" career. In barely more than ten years, during the eve of and during the 1880s, he produced a literary oeuvre impressive for its sheer physical weight—long short stories and short stories, novels and plays, travel diaries, essays and newspaper articles—often displaying, particularly in the long short story, a mastery never surpassed in world literature. Concurrently, he fought out letters—quarrelling with publishers and landlords, complaining to doctors and lawyers, informing his mother, lyrical to refined ladies, erotic to less refined ladies—which gave one the impression that he was glued to his writing desk. But far from it: he was always on the move, as sportsman, business man, socialist, practical joker, womanizer, an addictive traveller in and outside his country, on land and sea and even experimentally in the air. On top of all, he suffered from fatal illness, and a heavy toll on his time, putting him frequently out of action and causing him to experiment with one doctor, one treatment, one spa, and one narcotic after the other.

Now this all could be fitted into one man's timetable as a puzzle, and the book buffing in that he was in the limelight and that at his days should, as it were, be accountable. Yet there are numerous blank patches in his life, from the uncertainty of his birthplace to the identity of the "woman grey" who was the temptress of his youth, and the last attempt to see him before his suicide in 1892. This anomaly was also peculiar to his work. The methods he used, especially in his master works, such as *Boule de Suif*, which established his fame in 1880, were seemingly those of which any articulate man could well himself when chatting with friends and relating some anecdote. There was very little of the experimental or esoteric in his art; those of his colleagues with a loathing for the obvious, from Goncourt, right down to young avant-garde writers, were only too willing to admit him as a clever mediocrity; yet, then, it could hardly be denied that, though commonplace in style, he displayed more originality of observation and description than practically any of his sophisticated contemporaries. His secret was the more elusive in that it did not appear as secretive at all.

He was, therefore, that ever elusive death, quite a number of writers and literary historians have been busy trying to strike a balance between his powerful and his shortcomings—his genius versus his crude and his street approach—and also to fit the blank patches in his short life. As to the latter task, the trouble was that so long as most of his dramatic personae were alive, he prevented biographers from telling the whole truth (his first, full biography, by Edmond Maugras, published in 1906, was noticeably silent on this) while by later decades the cloud of myths and gossip had grown so thick that guesses had to be substituted for statements of fact. It is true, for instance, that Maupassant's most passionate love affair was with a Jewish girl, and early feminist writers, like Gide's *Le roman expérimental*, have heard of until some thirty years ago, when the name of Maupassant's mistress, a French girl, or some would say, in French, *Maupassant's mistress*, including *Le roman expérimental*, in my view the most accurate, among them, has also added their own "colours" to his life and work. Maupassant, published in 1906, was not only Gide's but also a word in a footnote, as well.

However, exceptions notwithstanding, the

Maupassant, associate editor ("rédacteur en chef") of *Les Contes* (the July 1902 number of his magazine published a long recollection by Dorel of this stormy love affair, and in his editorial comment on the authenticity of the relevant documents. A few years later, however, Maupassant died in an accident and M. Lanoux no less suddenly changed his mind—for in his own book, *Maupassant de Bel-Ami* (published in 1967), he gave a focal account of exchanges with his distinguished late contributor, and one that is far from convincing on the Gide story. At the same time his book, which is in sheer weight the double of biographies totales, he terms it goes into details about what had hitherto been considered a vague assumption, namely the existence of Maupassant's three illegitimate children and his visits to their home.

Michael G. Lerner, author of *Maupassant*, has tried to give a very understanding, to skim the stories of his predecessors. He does so with a sound sense of balance. He does not ignore any relevant assumption, but refrains from cocksureness about what is unproven. He is particularly reticent about the possible origin of the syphilis which had such a fatal part to play in the Maupassant family (before Guy himself, his younger brother, Hervé, died of it), but, on this point, greater reticence would not in itself have achieved more certainty. Although, there is practically no new information about Maupassant's life from Lerner's book; he does print some hitherto unpublished private letters and obscure verses by Maupassant which make curious reading, but throw no new light on their author.

As to the way Dr Lerner sums up the merits and importance of Maupassant's work, I would call it honest and commonplace. Unlike, notably, M. Lanoux, who pitched into his merits and importance of Maupassant's work, such as *Boule de Suif*, which established his fame in 1880, were seemingly those of which any articulate man could well himself when chatting with friends and relating some anecdote. There was very little of the experimental or esoteric in his art; those of his colleagues with a loathing for the obvious, from Goncourt, right down to young avant-garde writers, were only too willing to admit him as a clever mediocrity; yet, then, it could hardly be denied that, though commonplace in style, he displayed more originality of observation and description than practically any of his sophisticated contemporaries. His secret was the more elusive in that it did not appear as secretive at all.

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By Rayner Heppenstall

**FRANÇOIS MAURIAC AND JACQUES-EMILE BLANCHÈRE:**  
Correspondence, 1916-1942  
267pp. Parole: Grasset. 40fr.

**JEAN HUGO:**  
Avant d'oublier 1918-1931  
301pp. Parole: Fayard. 48fr.

Neither of the two painters, Jacques-Emile Blanche and Jean Hugo, is well known here, though to most of us the Blanche portrait of a young man with orchid buttons is familiar in reproduction, while some will have seen the Hugo stage settings at Stratford in 1964 or on prior display at the French Institute in London. There are Blanche rooms in the Rouen art gallery, and others of his sensitive portraits may be seen at a little museum in Dieppe. A retrospective exhibition of the work of Jean Hugo was held at the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris last February.

Blanche was twenty-five years older than François Mauriac, and the existence of this long correspondence, as a surprise, of Mauriac's own generation, M. Hugo is a great-grandson of François' greatest poet. If only in the world of Diaghilev's later phase, the two painters must have met, but their sensitive portraits may be seen at a little museum in Dieppe. A retrospective exhibition of the work of Jean Hugo was held at the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris last February.

The Mauriac-Blanche correspondence begins with a postcard from Mauriac in hospital at Sekonka half-way through the First World War, and ends, but not without a few pages in the *Deuxième Guerre mondiale*, with a letter from Mauriac, including *Le roman expérimental*, in my view the most accurate, among them, has also added their own "colours" to his life and work. Maupassant, published in 1906, was not only Gide's but also a word in a footnote, as well.

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of Mauriac's great period show him very perceptive. The correspondence gently rebuking him for his malice and quite often leaving it to his wife to reply, Mauriac does seem to have remained genuinely fond of the older man, with whom, moreover, we find him collaborating enthusiastically on a play, *Montefiore*, never published or played.

This correspondence will have to be consulted by literary historians and aspirant doctors of philosophy. It does not make very good reading. Perhaps this is because Mauriac was not a correspondent like Gide, of whom we may often feel that his letters, to less than his diaries, were written with a public in mind. In this correspondence, the *monstrueuse indifférence* of the publication of Gide's Journal in his lifetime provides a contrast, the occasion for Blanche to be, if not deeply moved, yet notably tetchy. Dr Richard had accused Blanche of being rich. He was, of course.

*Avant d'oublier* shows us a boy brought up as an "enfant" finding middle-aged and, in the Roman Catholic Church much under the influence of Jacques Maritain. These reminiscences end before the 1930s had begun to turn nasty. They begin with the end of a war in which Hugo served as a young officer with the Americans and was much around Verdun. He goes back to Paris, takes up again with Cocteau and the five composers known as *les six*, marries another wife, Valentine Gros, and ends his first chapter at their apartment in the Palais Royal with Auric, Poulenc, Diaghilev, Massine and Pkassou, while a drunk Stravinsky plays ragtime on the piano.

Theater, he and Valentine go to stay with his grandmother in Provence, and for many pages in flashback the dates on the title page are belied by earlier reminiscences of childhood and schooldays, not only at Figeac but at Hauteville House in Garmar, where Hugo spent most of his years of exile.

M. Hugo's memory is precise, his ear not much inferior to his eye. Suddenness of Victor Hugo will need these vivid glimpses of his descendants, and Mauriac's tone here could hardly be bettered.

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